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REPORT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MISSION TO RWANDA ON 12 AND 13 FEBRUARY 1995

Letter of transmittal

Letter dated 28 February 1995 from the members of the Security Council mission to Rwanda addressed to the President of the Security Council

We have the honour to transmit herewith the report of the Security Council's mission to Rwanda, which took place on 12 and 13 February 1995. The report is submitted to the Council in accordance with the terms of reference for the mission agreed upon by the Council during informal consultations on 6 February 1995.

(Signed) Ibrahim A. GAMBARI (Nigeria)
Chairman of the Mission

(Signed) LI Zhaoxing (China)

(Signed) Karel KOVANDA (Czech Republic)

(Signed) Gerhard HENZE (Germany)

(Signed) Julio RENDON BARNICA (Honduras)

(Signed) Nugroho WISNUMURTI (Indonesia)

(Signed) Karl F. INDERFURTH (United States of America)

Annex

Report of the Security Council mission to Rwanda
on 12 and 13 February 1995

I. INTRODUCTION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE MISSION

1. On 6 February 1995, the Security Council decided that its mission to Burundi would make a stopover in Rwanda on 12 and 13 February 1995 before its return to New York. According to the terms of reference (S/1995/112) for the visit, the mission would hold consultations with the Rwandese Government regarding its efforts towards national reconciliation and reconstruction and the problem of the return of refugees. It would also hold consultations with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, United Nations agencies, United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) personnel, members of the diplomatic corps and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Kigali and, upon its conclusion, submit a report to the Security Council.

2. The mission arrived at Kigali on 12 February, from Bujumbura. It was led by H.E. Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari, Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, and comprised H.E. Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China), H.E. Mr. Karel Kovanda (Czech Republic), H.E. Mr. Gerhard Henze (Germany), H.E. Mr. Julio Rendon Barnica (Honduras), H.E. Mr. Nugroho Wisnumurti (Indonesia) and Mr. Karl F. Inderfurth (United States of America).

3. It emerged from recent reports by the Secretary-General (S/1995/65 and S/1995/107) that, while significant progress has been made towards restoring normality and stability to Rwanda, more needed to be done. In the letter of 10 February from its President addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1995/130) and its presidential statement of 10 February (S/PRST/1995/7), the Security Council demonstrated its continued concern and, above all, its readiness to support additional practical measures and efforts that would lead to a more peaceful and stable Rwanda. While acknowledging the achievements of the Government of Rwanda, despite the difficulty of the task and the limited resources available to it, the Security Council expects the Government to intensify its efforts to repatriate refugees, to promote national reconciliation and to reinvigorate the political process, including the creation of an appropriate mechanism for sustaining dialogue between the Government, the refugee community and the United Nations.

4. During its stay in Rwanda, the mission held meetings with Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President of the Republic of Rwanda (with Mr. Anastase Gasana, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Jacques Bihozagara, Minister for Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration, in attendance), Major General Paul Kagame, Vice-President and Minister of Defence of Rwanda, and Mr. Faustin Twagiramungu, Prime Minister of Rwanda. In addition, the mission held consultations with Mr. Shaharyar M. Khan, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Rwanda, Brigadier General Henry Anyidoho, Deputy Force Commander of UNAMIR, representatives of United Nations agencies and offices in Rwanda, members of the diplomatic corps and representatives of NGOs. The mission visited a camp for internally displaced persons in Kibeho, in

south-western Rwanda. The mission's program of work in Rwanda, and a list of participants in its various meetings, are attached to the present report (see annexes I and II).

II. OBSERVATIONS

5. Several perspectives were heard on how best to move forward to stabilize the situation in Rwanda. While it was generally agreed that the most important goal was to prevent the recurrence of the tragedy that had recently befallen Rwanda, the specific issues of repatriation, reconciliation, reconstruction and the need for justice were seen as interrelated, although differences were evident as to the priorities in addressing those concerns.

6. The return and resettlement of internally displaced persons and refugees was seen as a prerequisite for long-term stability and progress. The Prime Minister emphasized that, without reconciliation, peace would not be possible. Bringing to justice those responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda constituted another priority.

7. The mission was informed of progress in facilitating the return and resettlement of internally displaced persons, especially through "Opération Retour". This programme, coordinated jointly by UNAMIR and United Nations agencies, in cooperation with the Government and supported also by NGOs, was launched on 29 December 1994.

8. Fear remains the single most important factor impeding the return of internally displaced persons and refugees. Government officials informed the mission of progress made in safeguarding the rights of innocent citizens and stressed the urgent need for assistance in order to restore an effective judiciary and a trained police force. Government officials explained their concerns with regard to the International Tribunal for Rwanda, but reaffirmed Rwanda's readiness to cooperate with the Tribunal and expressed the hope that it would begin its work as soon as possible.

9. Regarding reconciliation, progress has been marginal so far. While recognizing that national reconciliation was a continuous process, the view was stressed that a number of immediate steps and measures were called for, such as active repatriation, the creation of a political and psychological climate conducive to reconciliation and the restoration of an effective and functioning judiciary. Concern was expressed, on the other hand, that many of those accused or suspected of carrying out atrocities had so far shown no remorse or contrition, a situation that was seen as discouraging efforts towards reconciliation, by making forgiveness difficult.

10. Government officials also emphasized that they respected, and indeed accepted the spirit of an inclusive and broad-based Government, as provided for under the Arusha peace agreement, to which their Government remained fully committed. It was pointed out that the Arusha accords were part of Rwanda's fundamental or basic law ("loi fondamentale"). They further pointed out, however, that returning to the country was the precondition for participating in the political process. Officials also indicated that the Government had

recently commenced dialogue with representatives of Rwandese refugee communities in Burundi. They explained that dialogue with the refugee community in Zaire was not yet feasible in view of the insecurity and intimidation to which those refugees were subjected by armed elements in their midst.

11. The role of civic education and sensitization programmes emphasizing the respect for human rights, the rule of law and tolerance, was underlined. In this connection, Radio UNAMIR will make a positive contribution by providing Rwandese, both inside the country and in refugee camps, with factual and objective information.

12. Concerning rehabilitation and reconstruction, the mission was informed that the emergency phase was largely over and that emphasis was increasingly being placed on longer-term measures to rebuild the country. In this connection, the response of the international community to the January 1995 round-table meeting in Geneva and to the consolidated inter-agency appeal was encouraging. The importance of setting up an effective mine-clearance programme in Rwanda was also emphasized. Such a programme was considered particularly urgent in view of the need to ensure the proper resettlement of large numbers of internally displaced persons and refugees and to revive agricultural and reconstruction activities.

13. The Government expressed appreciation for the support provided by the international community for its programme of development and recovery. It also welcomed the role of United Nations agencies and operations, in particular UNAMIR, whose presence in the country was viewed as a most valuable factor for confidence-building and security in Rwanda.

14. The mission was encouraged by the progress made towards returning to normalcy in Rwanda; yet the country's problems are far from over. In fact, the critical challenges of social and political accommodation, on which genuine stability and long-term healing depend, are still to be addressed. During its visit to the Kibeho camp for internally displaced persons, the mission noted that the population in the camp was increasing rather than decreasing even as other camps in the area were apparently "melting away". The mission also heard from its residents that, despite the availability of basic relief supplies and other services provided by the United Nations and the humanitarian agencies, most internally displaced persons would rather return to their homes and farms but were held back by fear.

15. The gravity of the horrendous crimes committed recently in Rwanda is recognized by the international community which, through the Security Council, has established an International Tribunal to bring to justice those responsible. At the same time, it is imperative to move forward to re-establish order and, above all, to prevent a new cycle of injustices or atrocities. In other words, while trying to cope with the tragic consequences of its recent problems, Rwandese society must be enabled to rebuild and to continue to function. Clearly, the primary responsibility in this regard rests with the Rwandese themselves, who must determine how to come to terms with each other. For healing to succeed and to endure, it should, above all, be indigenous and deliberate. It cannot be imposed.

16. The role of the international community has, to date, been to assist Rwanda's own efforts towards peace and progress. During its stay in Rwanda, therefore, the mission made it clear, especially in its discussions with government officials, that its purpose was to learn and to exchange ideas in order to enhance cooperation between Rwanda and the Security Council with a view to finding solutions to the problems at hand. The visit and the discussions held convinced the mission of the continuing validity of the Security Council's approach to date, based essentially on the sharing of responsibilities between the Government and the international community, especially in the areas of repatriation, reconstruction and reconciliation.

17. On repatriation, the mission believes that as long as 2 million Rwandese remain in camps in and outside their country, the situation in Rwanda will remain inherently unstable. It therefore considers their return home as a matter of highest priority in the interest of lasting and sustainable peace and progress. The mission agrees that ensuring security in the refugee camps is vital for the success of efforts to accelerate repatriation. In this regard, it reaffirms the Security Council's endorsement of recent arrangements made by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) with the Governments of Zaire and the United Republic of Tanzania to enhance security in the Rwandese refugee camps in these countries and supports the Council's request to the Secretary-General to continue to explore all options and to make any further recommendations necessary to realize effective security in the camps.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

18. The mission believes that the Government of Rwanda should intensify its efforts to create favourable conditions and an auspicious climate inside the country to encourage and facilitate repatriation. In this connection, it is considered that the Government's action in the following areas could be particularly helpful: (a) reinvigorating the political process, including the creation of a framework for dialogue between the Government, refugee representatives and the United Nations; (b) launching, in cooperation with civic associations, religious leaders, the United Nations and NGOs, a civic education programme within the country, including in internally displaced persons camps, and directed also at refugee camps through radio, to promote harmony among all Rwandese; (c) moving expeditiously to put in place an effective mechanism to protect property rights; (d) establishing a transparent and effective judiciary; (e) setting up and deploying nationwide a trained police force; (f) establishing an effective civil administration throughout the country; and (g) continuing to allow unimpeded access throughout the country to UNAMIR, humanitarian personnel and human rights monitors. The mission recommends furthermore that the international community support the Government's efforts.

19. The mission reaffirms the call by the Security Council contained in its presidential statement of 10 February 1995 for the full implementation of the agreement reached between the Governments of Zaire and Rwanda on the return of refugees and property.

20. The mission believes that the generous response of the international community to the recent round-table meeting in Geneva and the consolidated

inter-agency appeal will make a major contribution towards the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwanda.

21. The mission recommends the setting up as soon as possible in Kigali of a United Nations inter-agency mine-clearance programme and expresses the hope that the international community will contribute generously to the programme.

22. The mission is of the view that national reconciliation is a continuous process. It could be facilitated by efforts to promote repatriation and rehabilitation, including the measures outlined above. It could also be aided by concrete movement in the area of justice. The mission therefore recommends that the International Tribunal become operational as soon as possible in close cooperation with the Government of Rwanda. In the meantime, and in view of the fact that both the Prosecutor and Deputy Prosecutor have been appointed and are supported by several staff members, the mission recommends that the Prosecutor's office also commence its work in Rwanda. In this connection, it hopes that a list of persons sought for questioning in connection with the violations of international humanitarian law concerning recent events in Rwanda, will soon be established and made public.

23. The mission considers that national reconciliation is principally a task for the Rwandese themselves. The Government should continue to play a leading role, including finding effective ways of broadening the political process to cover all sectors of the Rwandese society. In this connection, the mission welcomes the reaffirmation by the Rwandese Government of its commitment to the Arusha Peace Agreement.

24. The mission welcomes the commencement, as approved by the Government of Rwanda, of Radio UNAMIR and shares the view that it will make an important contribution towards repatriation and reconciliation efforts.

25. The mission notes the Security Council's recent agreement with the Secretary-General's recommendation to increase the strength of UNAMIR's civilian police component from 90 to 120 police observers. It stresses the importance of having a qualified team of civilian police observers and their deployment at the earliest possible time in order to enable UNAMIR to fulfil its mandated task to assist in the training of a new, integrated national police force for Rwanda.

26. The mission commends UNAMIR and other United Nations staff as well as NGO personnel in Rwanda for their dedication and commitment in the service of peace and supports their activities in Rwanda.

27. The members of the mission would like to express their gratitude and appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and his staff for the valuable support and assistance rendered to them during the mission.

Annex I

Programme of work

Sunday, 12 February 1995

0845 hours	Arrival at Kigali
1000 hours	Meeting with United Nations agencies
1130 hours	Meeting with NGOs
1300 hours	Briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Deputy Force Commander of UNAMIR
1600 hours	Meeting with the diplomatic corps
1700 hours	Meeting of H.E. Mr. Gambari (Chairman) with the Nigerian contingent serving with UNAMIR
1930 hours	Buffet dinner offered by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General

Monday, 13 February 1995

0800 hours	Visit to Kibeho camp for internally displaced persons and Rukondo
1200 hours	Meeting with the Prime Minister
1500 hours	Meeting with the Vice-President and Minister of Defence
1700 hours	Meeting with the President
1900 hours	Press conference at Kigali airport
2010 hours	Departure from Kigali

Annex II

Participants in meetings with the Security Council mission

1. Meetings with officials of the Government of Rwanda

Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President
Maj. Gen. Paul Kagame, Vice-President and Minister of Defence
Mr. Faustin Twagiramungu, Prime Minister
Mr. Anastase Gasana, Minister for Foreign Affairs
Mr. Jacques Bihozagara, Minister of Rehabilitation and Social Integration

2. Meetings with representatives of United Nations agencies and offices in Rwanda

Mr. Shaharyar M. Khan, Special Representative of the Secretary General for Rwanda
Brig. Gen. Henry Anyidoho, Deputy Force Commander, UNAMIR
Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa, Resident Representative, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
Mr. Babacar Cisse, Deputy Resident Representative, UNDP
Mr. Roman Urasa, representative, UNHCR
Mr. Julio Gamba, Resident Representative, World Bank
Mr. Daniel Toole, representative, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
Mr. Carol Jaenson, Chief, Children in Difficult Circumstances Section, UNICEF
Mr. Randolph Kent, Humanitarian Coordinator in Rwanda, UNREO
Ms. Patricia Banks, Deputy Humanitarian Coordinator in Rwanda, UNREO
Mr. Techeste Zergaber, Country Director, World Food Programme (WFP)
Mr. Zlatan Milisic, Reports Officer, WFP
Mr. William Clarance, Head, United Nations Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda
Mr. Paul Howard, Chief of Mission, Intergovernmental Organization for Migration
Mr. Mahamane Maiga, Acting Coordinator, World Health Organization
Mr. Ibrahima Kaba, Officer-in-Charge, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
Ms. Alana Armitage, Programme Officer, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)
Mr. Abdoulaye Mar Dieye, Interregional Adviser, Department for Development Support and Management Services, United Nations
Mr. Sidique Dao, Officer-in-Charge, Humanitarian Affairs, Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, UNAMIR

3. Meeting with members of the diplomatic corps

Ms. Lucy Edwards, Ambassador, Canada
Mr. Huang Shejiao, Ambassador, China
Mr. Jacques Courbin, Ambassador, France
Mr. August Hummel, Ambassador, Germany
Mr. David Rawson, Ambassador, United States of America

Mr. Sylvain Ndayikengurukiye, Charge d'affaires a.i., Embassy of Burundi
Père Nguyen Van Tot, Chargé d'affaires, Holy See
Mr. Siguar Schelstraete, Belgium
Mr. Claude Latulippe, Canada
Père Henri Hoser, Holy See

Ms. Lilian Wong, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

4. Meeting with the Steering Group of the NGO community in Rwanda

Mr. Teferra Shiawl, Africa Humanitarian Action
Mr. Askale Binga, Africa Humanitarian Action
Mr. Steven Rifkin, Save the Children
Mr. Tom Walker, Médecins sans Frontières
Ms. Barbara Kerstiens, Médecins sans Frontières
Mr. Yvan M'Bomo, Équilibre
Mr. Mungwakuzwe Canisius, Forum des ONG rwandaises (Forum of Rwandese NGOs)